

PAKISTAN

THE STRUGGLE OF A NATION



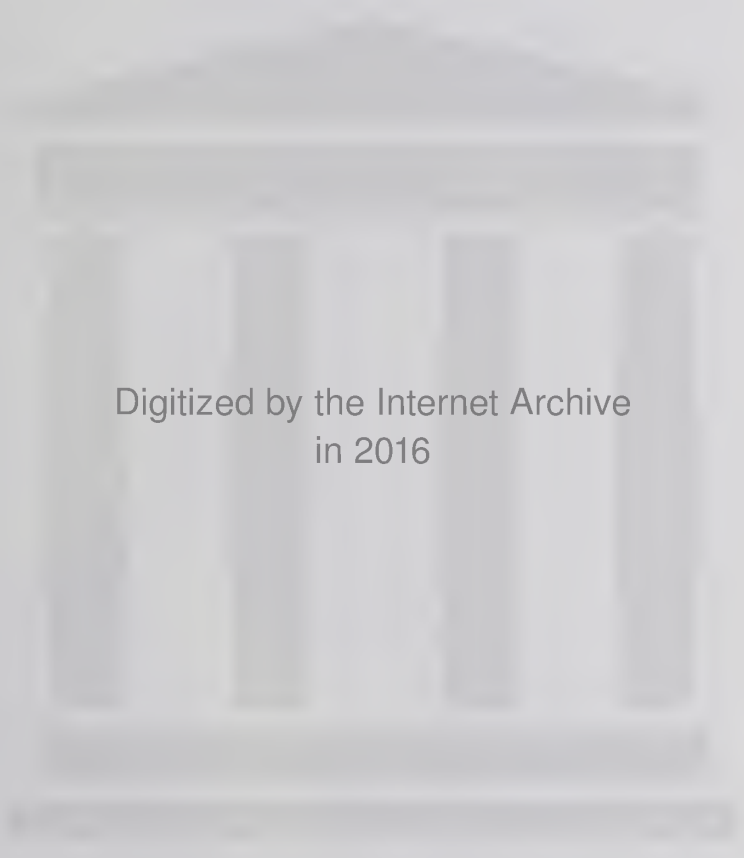
Published by
THE DIRECTOR OF FOREIGN PUBLICITY
GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN

JAN 23 1950

P
P
India
Pakistan

PAKISTAN

THE STRUGGLE OF A NATION



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2016



PAKISTAN
THE STRUGGLE OF A NATION

Published by
THE DIRECTOR OF FOREIGN PUBLICITY
GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN

First Published 1949.

Printed in U. S. A.
By GIBSON BROTHERS, INC., WASHINGTON, D. C.

CONTENTS

Historical	9
Muslims in India	9
Islam	10
Hinduism	10
Hindu-Muslim Relations	10
Efforts at Synthesis	11
The British Conquest	11
Sir Syed Ahmad (1817-1899)	13
Minority Representation (1861-1909)	15
The Indian National Congress. The All-India Muslim League	15
The Working of the Morley-Minto Reforms	16
Lucknow Pact—1916	16
Montague-Chelmsford Reforms	17
First Non-Co-operation Movement (1919-1920)	18
Hindu-Muslim Differences	18
More Attempts at Communal Settlement	22
Simon Commission: Muslim Demands	23
Round Table Conference	23
Government of India Act—1935	24
The Working of the Act	24
Muslim Reaction: Pakistan	27
The Case for Pakistan	29
The Political Deadlock	30
The Cripps Offer, March 1942	31
Mr. Rajogopalacharia's Formula	32
Gandhi-Jinnah Talks—1944	32
1946 Elections	32
Cabinet Mission—1946	33
Mr. Atlee's Statement: February 1947	34
Mountbatten Plan—1947	34
Indian Independence Act—1947	36
At the Time of Partition	36
Inauguration of Pakistan: August 15, 1947	36
Conclusion	37

THE STRUGGLE OF A NATION

Introduction

On September 30, 1947, Pakistan was elected a Member of the United Nations. With a population of over 75 million and an area of over 350,000 square miles, Pakistan is the fifth largest state of the World. This state was created on the withdrawal of the British from the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent which allowed the regions now comprising Pakistan and India to acquire independence. The creation of Pakistan was an inevitable consequence of the twelve centuries of Muslim history in India, but more particularly of the last two.

This book narrates briefly the course of events from the beginning, and explains the origins and fulfilment of the demand for Pakistan.

THE STRUGGLE OF A NATION

Historical

The first political connection of Muslims with India was the Arab conquest of Sind by Mohammad bin Qasim in 711 A. D., and its annexation by the Caliphate of Damascus. The territory of Sind at that time included a large part of the Punjab. Sind is separated from India by the great Rajputana desert, and this was perhaps one of the factors which prevented an eastward expansion of the Arabs. The Arab annexation of Sind remained an event almost isolated from the history of the rest of Hindustan.

India has from the earliest times, attracted migrating people from Central Asia. Hardly a decade elapsed without one wave or another of settlers coming through the northwestern passes of the Himalayan Range. Perhaps the earliest arrivals were the Dravidians. They were followed by wave after wave of Aryans who overpowered the Dravidians and imposed on them both their rule and their religion which, in its more developed form, came to be known as Brahmanism. The Aryan waves of immigration which were by far the largest, were followed by other but smaller movements of the Sakas, the Huns and the Mongols. These nomad hordes were, in course of time, absorbed in the existing Hindu society which was at a comparatively high level of civilisation.

By the 10th century A. D., Central Asia and Afghanistan had followed Iran in embracing Islam. The movement of Central Asian Muslims into India, which commenced towards the close of the 10th century, followed the previous pattern but was different in one material respect. Whereas the nomad hordes which came after the Aryans had neither any organised religious belief nor any well-established social or political organisation, the Muslim Turks, Persians and Afghans who now began to pour into India brought with them a well-established religion, Islam, with its advanced and virile concepts of life and society.

In due course the whole of India except the extreme south came under Muslim domination and was governed, directly or indirectly, by the Sultans of Delhi. Thus, the Muslims became an important part of the population of India and their distinct culture was established side by side with that of the Hindus.

Muslims in India

Before the creation of Pakistan in August 1947, British India had a population of about 400 million. Of these approximately 100 million were Muslims. That only a quarter of the entire population should profess Islam after nearly eight centuries of Muslim rule shows, significantly enough, that during the Muslim period

Pakistan

the choice of religion was free. Even in Delhi which remained the capital of Muslim rulers till 1857, with a few brief interludes, Hindus constituted the majority of the population.

Islam

As a Semitic religion, Islam is closely akin to Judaism and Christianity. The main fundamentals of Islam are that there is only one God, that Mohammad is the last of the Prophets and that the Quran is the revealed word of God. Islam has its own definite code of ethics, jurisprudence and social organisation. It believes in the equality of man. It abhors idolatry.

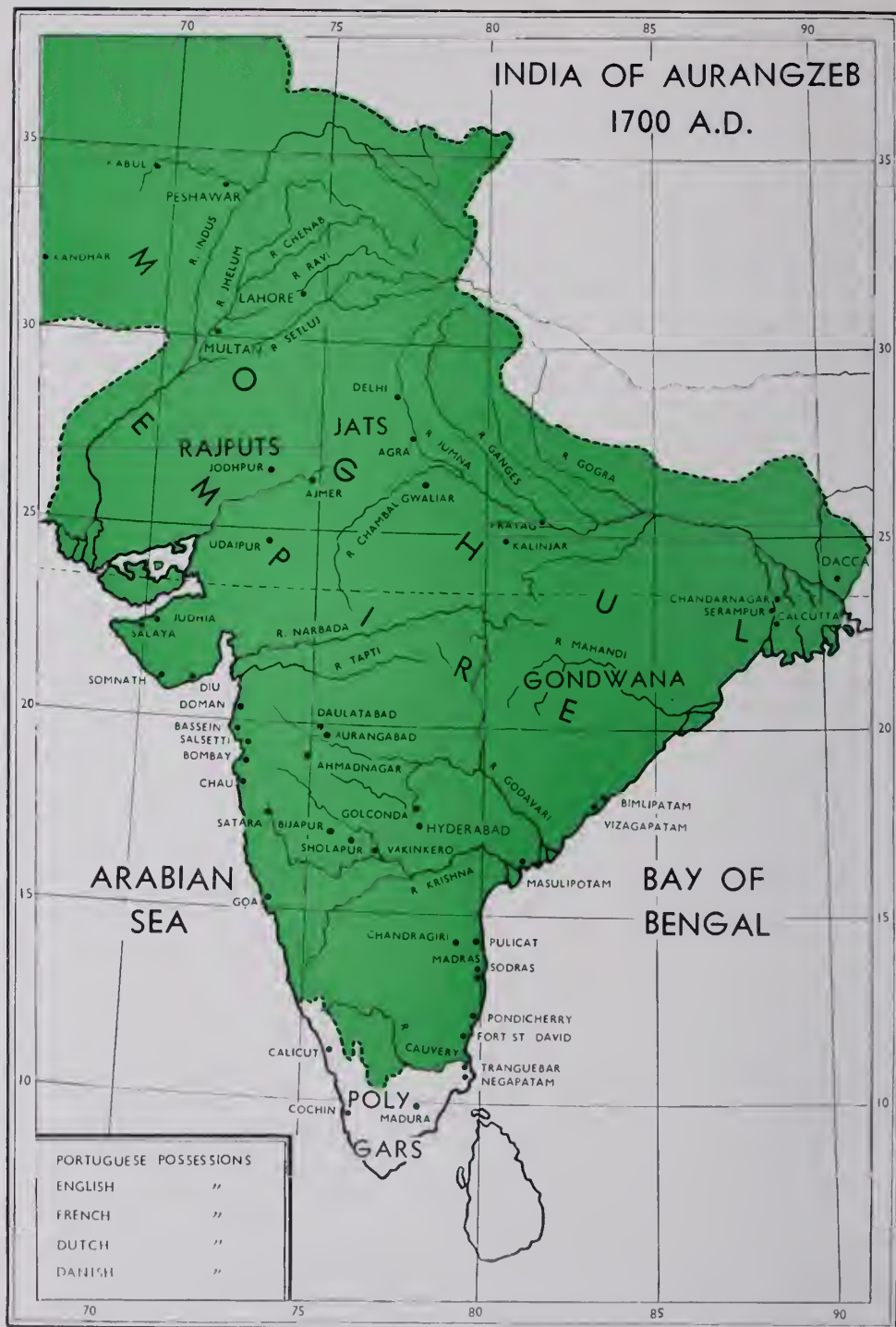
Hinduism

Hinduism is more a system of life than an organised religion. It believes in an endless pantheon of deities, some of whom are worshipped, others propitiated. Every household has its own god or goddess. Transmigration of soul is a basic tenet of Hinduism. The most important feature of Hinduism, as a social organisation, is its Caste System which is based on the belief that human beings are born into particular castes and that their whole life is governed by rigid rules of divine origin. The four main castes are: the *Brahmins*, the priests who are the equals, if not the superiors, of dieties; the *Kashatryas*, the ruling or martial classes; the *Vaishyas*, the agriculturists and traders; and, lastly, the *Sudras*, the servile classes. Each caste is divided into an endless array of sub-castes. From the orthodox point-of-view, all Hindus who belong to the fourth caste as well as those who profess faiths other than Hinduism are considered "untouchables." The number of Hindu "untouchables" alone is about 60 million.

Hindu-Muslim Relations

Their religions and social concepts being so radically different, Hindus and Muslims have, on the whole, always remained apart. Hinduism, which interdicts inter-marriage between its own castes and even sub-castes was not expected to permit or encourage inter-marriage with Muslims. Islam too bans intermarriage between Muslims and the followers of any polytheistic creed. The rigidity of the caste system and the serious consequences of expulsion from the caste prevented free intercourse with Muslims. The differences persisted even in such minor matters as dress, manners of living, eating etc., not to mention other important matters such as language and literature. The court language of the Muslims was Persian, whereas the languages spoken by the Hindus were Prakrits or local dialects.

INDIA OF AURANGZEB 1700 A.D.



The Struggle of a Nation

Efforts at Synthesis

Many attempts were made at a synthesis of the two religions and cultures, the most important being that of Akbar, the great Moghul (1555-1606 A. D.). He experimented with a new eclectic religion called *Din-i-Ilahi*, an admixture of Islam, Hinduism, and other religions, which, however, failed to catch on. There also arose religious reformers like Ramanuja (12th century), Nanak (15th century), Kabir (16th century) and others who were influenced by Muslim mystic thought and who tried to reform Hinduism. They too were unsuccessful.

It was, however, inevitable that twelve hundred years of impact of one civilisation on another should produce some results. Under the influence of the Islamic concepts of equality and brotherhood, the caste system in certain parts of India began to disintegrate. Some of the greatest Muslim contributions to the architecture of the world are the beautiful Taj Mahal of Agra, the Jama Mosque and the Red Fort of Delhi. But a fine synthesis of the two cultures has given to the world many masterpieces, like the splendid buildings of Fatehpur Sikri near Agra. Other lasting results of this synthesis were the development of classical music, Mughal and Rajput schools of painting and the evolution of the Urdu language which was a fusion of Brij Bhasha, Sauraseni and other dialects or Prakrits with Turki, Arabic and Persian. In course of time this language came to be spoken and written by Hindus and Muslims alike and has produced one of the richest literatures of the world. In the administrative machinery of the Government, Hindu talent was freely used by Muslim rulers and many Hindus rose to key positions. Hindu poets received from the Courts equal patronage with Muslim poets. But the bases of the two civilisations—one Muslim and democratic, the other Hindu and caste-ridden—were so different that they seemed destined to flow like two parallel but separate streams.

The British Conquest

The British first came to India as traders, the East India Company being founded in 1599 A. D. It obtained concessions from the Moghul Emperors to establish trading settlements at various ports. After the death (1707 A. D.) of Aurangzeb, last of the great Moghul Emperors, the empire entered on a period of decay. The control at the centre became lax. Independent principalities sprang up all over the country and began to war among themselves. The European trading companies were approached for help in these feuds, which they did in return for far-reaching concessions and control of stretches of territory. In due course, these companies became rulers of those territories and found themselves frequently at war with each other. Ultimately the British East India Company emerged as a strong power in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, having defeated its European rivals

in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, having defeated its European rivals as well as the Muslim ruler of Bengal (1757 A. D.). Thereafter Indian territory was conquered at a steady pace. Province after province was annexed. The Princes who submitted to the British of their own accord became tributary powers. There was often hard fighting and on several occasions the British armies came very close to disaster.

For nearly one hundred years after the conquest of Muslim-ruled Bengal, the East India Company left no stone unturned, with the aid of Hindus, not only in crushing the spirit but in destroying the very existence of the proud Muslim community. Under the Permanent Settlement, most of the Muslim landholders were replaced by Hindus. Muslims were shut out of the army and in the words of Sir William Hunter, a Bengal Civil Servant, there was "scarcely a Government office in Calcutta in which a Mohammadan can hope for any post above the rank of porter, messenger, filler of ink-pots and mender of pens".¹ Another contemporary English writer tells that "in the law, their old training is now useless, as all Musalman polity has been done away with; so that, from having almost monopolized the post of pleaders of the High Court even as late as 1851, we find that out of 240 natives admitted between 1852 and 1869, there was only one Musalman".² Persian and Arabic were no longer taught in schools. In 1872, out of the three hundred students on the rolls of the Hooghly College (which was maintained by the East India Company from the income of a Muslim Educational Trust) only three were Muslims. The following passage in Sir William Hunter's "The Indian Musalmans", gives a fuller indication of what the Muslims had to suffer at the hands of the British rulers in those days:

"There is no use shutting our ears to the fact that the Indian Muhammadans arraign us on a list of charges as serious as have ever been brought against a Government. They accuse us of having closed every honourable walk of life to professors of their creed. They accuse us of having introduced a system of education which leaves their whole community unprovided for, and which has landed it in contempt and beggary. They accuse us of having brought misery into thousands of families by abolishing their law officers who gave the sanction of religion to their marriage—tie . . . They accuse us of imperilling their souls, by denying them the means of performing the duties of their faith. Above all, they charge us with deliberate malversation of their religious foundations; with misappropriation on the largest scale of their educational funds . . . In a word, the Indian Musalman arraigns against the British Government for its want of sympathy, for its want of magnanimity, for the mean malversation of their funds, for the great public wrongs spread over a period of one hundred years".

¹ Indian Musalmans, p. 167.

² H. C. Bowen, Muhammadanism in India, p. 45.



SIR SYED AHMAD

The Struggle of a Nation

By 1857 most of the country had passed under British rule except for those Indian States which had accepted a position of vassalage. The feeling against the ascendancy of the British as a military and political power had been growing amongst the Muslims for nearly half a century. As early as 1825, the people, led by Syed Ahmed Brelvi and his followers, had been agitating for an open war against the Sikh rule in the North West—a mass movement, which, according to Sir William Hunter, was “one of the greatest religious revivals known in Indian history.” Later, their movement developed into a struggle against the growing menace of the British East India Company. The poet-emperor Shah Alam II, popularly known as Bahadur Shah Zafar, was too saintly and unworldly to muster enough resources to fight. But the people, including the army, continued the struggle independently, which eventually led to a general war against the British in 1857, described by British historians as the “Indian Mutiny”. The timely arrival of fresh British troops in Calcutta on their way to China saved the East India Company, and the Muslims lost their empire in India.

The same systematic persecution of Muslims as had gone on in Bengal and other parts, was repeated after the suppression of the “Indian Mutiny”. There were mass hangings of Muslims all over the country. Their properties were confiscated, their houses dug up in a systematic search for loot, and their belongings, land and houses were sold almost for nothing to Hindus. Muslim ruling chiefs were replaced by Hindus. Persian, which had been the court language, was replaced by English, of which the Muslims were ignorant. Increasing patronage was shown to Hindus who had evinced a keen desire to collaborate with the new masters and who were considered to be of a more docile temperament than the rebellious Muslims. Muslim rule, since 711 A. D. when Mohammad Ibn-e-Qasim conquered Sind and particularly since 1000 A. D. when Mahmud of Ghazni invaded India, followed by British rule, had created an inferiority complex in the Hindus who were now determined to gain the upper hand in the life of the country.

Sir Syed Ahmad (1817-1899)

In so far as the Muslims were concerned, the revolutionary movement, though apparently defeated by force of arms still smouldered. It now expressed itself in resentment against everything British, including modern education. It was at this critical period of Indian history that (Sir) Syed Ahmad Khan appeared on the political scene and made a determined effort to pull the Indian Muslims out of the morass of sullen inactivity into which they had fallen. He urged upon them the necessity of taking to modern education, of catching up with the times and of adopting new ways for fighting the new menace. But a defeated people takes long to rise from its stupor, and it was not until after the

Pakistan

turn of the century that the Muslims awoke to the necessity of Western education and of modernising their outlook.

They had, meanwhile, fallen about fifty years behind the Hindus who had taken to English education earlier and in greater numbers, with the result that the public services, commerce, the professions, politics, and in fact all walks of life were dominated by Hindus. This gave them a lever for an all-round exclusion and oppression of Muslims. But the Muslims, as a result of Sir Syed's teachings, were now claiming an increasing share in the life of the country.

In politics, Sir Syed Ahmed's objective was two-fold: firstly, to bring about a rapprochement between the Muslims and the British and, secondly, to obtain for Indians in general an increasing share in the governance of their country. In both these efforts he succeeded. He brought home to the British the real cause of the "Mutiny", namely, the governance of the country against the wishes of its inhabitants. He advocated the admission of Indians to the Legislative councils of India and the granting of local self-government through district boards and municipalities. He had the satisfaction of seeing both these proposals accepted.

He was, however, keenly conscious that the Anglo-Saxon type of democratic government was not suited to conditions in India. This is what he said in a speech during a meeting of the Council of the Governor-General of India in 1883:

"The system of representation by election means the representation of the views and interests of the majority of the population. But, my Lord, in a country like India where caste distinctions still flourish, where there is no fusion of the various races, where religious differences are still violent, where education in the modern sense has not made an equal or proportionate progress among all sections of the population, I am convinced that the introduction of the principle of election, pure and simple, for representation of various interests in the local boards and district councils would be attended with evils of greater significance than purely economic considerations . . . The larger community would totally over-ride the interests of the smaller community".

With a political foresight, which seems the more remarkable after all these intervening years of history, he had predicted that the political destinies of Hindus and Muslims of India would lie along widely divergent paths. The poet Hali, his biographer, records how in 1867, some Hindus of Benares proposed the abolition of the Urdu language and the Persian script in Government offices as far as possible, and to introduce in its place *Bhasha* (a Hindu dialect) to be written in the Sanskrit script. "This made Sir Ayed Ahmed realise for the first

The Struggle of a Nation

time that it was impossible for Hindus and Muslims to become one. In this connection, he said to Mr. Shakespeare, the Commissioner of Benares Division: 'I have now become convinced that the two communities (Hindus and Muslims) will never work together with sincerity. It has not yet assumed importance. In future, greater differences and opposition will appear on account of people who are called educated, and this will last'. 'If your prophecy is true', Shakespeare had remarked, 'then I am extremely sorry.' Sir Syed Ahmed replied: 'I too am sorry, but I am convinced of the truth of my prophecy.' "

Minority Representation (1861-1909)

Between 1861 and 1909 Indians were given representation in the Legislative councils at the Centre and in the Provinces. It was, however, made clear that this did not envisage the establishment of parliamentary government on the British model. It was felt that there was too great a diversity of race, religion and tradition to justify the institution of majority rule. As stated earlier, Sir Syed Ahmed had already warned the British Government of the pitfalls of numerical democracy. The Indian Councils Act of 1866 and the Local Self-government Act of 1883-84, safeguarded the interests of Muslims by the inclusion of a provision for the representation of the Minorities by nomination.

When the Liberals came into power in Britain at the beginning of the twentieth century and it became obvious that the principle of representation through election would be enforced more effectively than before, the Muslims began to press for separate representation. A deputation led by H.H. the Agha Khan was organised by Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, the political successor of Sir Syed Ahmed, and met Lord Minto, the Viceroy of India, at Simla in October 1906.

The Indian Councils Act, better known as the Morley-Minto Reforms, introduced an elected majority into the Provincial Legislatures and an elected minority into the Viceroy's Legislative Council. The Muslim leaders pressed for separate representation and secured the following rights which assumed a fundamental importance in the future constitutional advance of the country:

1. The right to elect their own representatives.
2. The right to elect their representatives by separate electorates.
3. The right to representation in excess of their actual numerical strength, so that they should never be an ineffective minority.

The Indian National Congress. The All-India Muslim League

The Indian National Congress, which had been established in 1885, was rallying nationalist opinion and voicing the demand for self-government as granted to other colonies of the British Empire. Sir Syed Ahmed had already warned Muslims against too close an association

Pakistan

with the Congress, as the establishment of "majority rule", which was the aim of the Congress, would be ruinous to Muslim interests. Avowedly a non-communal body, the Congress was, in its composition and trend, a communal Hindu organisation. It stood for the attainment of self-government by constitutional means. Before long, however, there arose within the Congress a new school of thought, led by Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bepin Chandra Pal and others who not only advocated violence for political purposes, but also sought to give a purely Hindu revivalist colour to the political struggle. Consequently, in 1906, under the leadership of Nawab Vigarul Mulk the Muslims formed a separate organisation of their own, the All-India Muslim League, which was destined to play an increasingly important part in shaping the future of India.

The All-India Muslim League was mainly responsible for the political awakening of Muslims in India. In so far as the demand for the political advancement of the country by constitutional means was concerned, it supported the Indian National Congress, but it was also interested in safeguarding the rights of Muslims and preserving their separate identity

The Working of the Morley-Minto Reforms

The constitution of 1909 was welcomed by the Congress, as a first step towards parliamentary government. Provincial legislation now required the assent of the non-official majorities in the Councils. Although administrative matters and the budget could be discussed in the Councils, the ultimate responsibility for the governance of the country rested with the British Parliament. The Council's functions and influences were, thus, of a limited nature. Instead of sharing in the administration, Indian members played the role of an "Opposition"! Yet if the Opposition carried a vote of no-confidence in the Government, the Government was not bound to resign and make way for the victors.

The general result was a sense of insufficiency and frustration. This was voiced by the Indian National Congress which still proclaimed its goal as "a system of government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing members of the Empire". This constitution would have continued for some time, had not the outbreak of the First World War helped the Indian nationalists to force the pace.

Lucknow Pact—1916

Muslim faith in the British Government was badly shaken by the annulment in 1911 of the Partition of Bengal, without reference to the Muslims despite the fact that it would have been beneficial to the Muslim population of that Province. Indian Muslims were further estranged, if not embittered, by British hostility towards Turkey during

The Struggle of a Nation

the Balkan War of 1912-13. As a result, the All-India Muslim League re-orientated its policy and adopted as its goal self-government by constitutional means. This was brought about mainly through the efforts of Mr. M.A. Jinnah, then an important member of the Congress.

It was realised by Congress leaders that without Muslim support it was impossible to present the British with a united demand for constitutional reform. Younger politicians within the League also urged for a closer Congress-League understanding. In 1915, the Congress and the League held their annual sessions at the same place and approximately at the same time. This practice continued till 1920.

Negotiations for a Congress-League settlement went on till 1916 when an agreed plan was evolved at Lucknow. The Congress at last recognised the Muslim demand for separate electorates. A united demand was made on the British Government for introducing elected majorities in Councils with extended powers. It was also recommended that the Viceroy should select one half of his Executive Councillors from amongst Indians. The Pact also provided special safeguards for Muslims, such as fixation of the number of their seats in the Council, etc.

The Congress-League Pact of 1916, popularly known as the Lucknow Pact, had a far-reaching effect on British policy. The Government issued a declaration revising its previous attitude. Whereas formerly its stand had been that conditions in India did not warrant the introduction of representative government on the British pattern, the Montague Declaration of 1917 proclaimed the aim of British rule in India to be "the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire", and promised "substantial steps in that direction as soon as possible."

Montague-Chelmsford Reforms

The Congress, at its Calcutta Session in 1917, adopted a resolution stating that "the Congress speaking on behalf of the united people of India begs respectfully to convey to His Majesty the King-Emperor their deep loyalty and profound attachment to the Throne, their unswerving allegiance to the British connection and their firm resolve to stand by the British at all hazards and at all costs". The reforms promised in the Montague Declaration of 1917 were enacted at the end of 1919, came into operation in 1920, and were known as Montague-Chelmsford Reforms.

These Reforms established a measure of Provincial autonomy by transferring authority in Provincial matters to the Provincial Governments and also freeing them from the control of the Centre to certain extent. "Dyarchy" was established in the sphere of administration

Pakistan

by transferring certain subjects to Indian Ministers responsible to the Legislature whilst vital subjects such as Defence, Law and Order, Revenue and Finance were reserved to the Governor and his Executive Councillors responsible to the Secretary of State for India and to the Parliament. The existing Central Legislative Council was reconstituted as a bi-cameral legislature directly elected by a non-official majority, but the Central Council continued to be entirely responsible to the Secretary of State and to the Parliament.

First Non-Co-operation Movement (1919-1920)

The limited scope of these Reforms was generally resented by both Hindus and Muslims. Under the leadership of Mr. M.K. Gandhi, the Congress rejected the scheme and decided to launch a non-co-operation movement in 1921. The imposition on Turkey of the treaty of Sevres had created widespread unrest among the Indian Muslims who, under the leadership of the distinguished Muslim patriots, Shaukat Ali and Mohammed Ali, made common cause with Mr. Gandhi against the British. A combined Hindu-Muslim movement employing the Gandhian technique of non-violent resistance swept the country.

During this phase of the national struggle, many Muslims proved their patriotism alongside the Congress. Thousands of Muslims courted arrest and went to jail. The Moplah (Muslim) peasants of Malabar rose in rebellion, waged a heroic struggle but were brutally suppressed. This combined Hindu-Muslim upsurge shook the foundations of British rule in India, but the unity achieved in this struggle was not maintained because of many developments which made the Muslims suspicious of Congress leadership. A rift in the Hindu-Muslim relations occurred once again and remained irreconcilable.

Hindu-Muslim Differences

It has already been stated that India was inhabited by a congeries of different races with their conflicting religions and cultures. The Muslims, in particular, possessed a distinct and advanced civilisation of their own, with a proud past and a bright future. The democratic appeal of Islam won millions of votaries from the Hindu fold and, but for the tolerance of Muslim rule, their number would have been many times more. This gradual expansion of Islam at the expense of caste-ridden Hindu society was galling to Hindu orthodoxy, inspiring a proselytising counter-movement known as *Shudhi*.

The social barriers buttressed by the Hindu caste-system have continued to be almost as effective as they were before the impact of Islamic and Western civilisations on Hindu society. These barriers have stubbornly withstood all well-meaning reformist endeavours and the levelling influences of the present age, and have preserved the growth of a genuine common nationhood.



MAULANA MOHAMMAD ALI

The Struggle of a Nation

Sir Abdur Rahim, ex-President of the Central Legislative Assembly in India,

"once complained that, whereas Indian Muslims felt quite at home in the Muslim countries of Asia, in India we find ourselves in all social matters total aliens when we cross the street and enter that part of the town where our Hindu fellow-townsmen live."³

The baneful result of this age-long stolid resistance to the liberalising forces of Time has been aptly described in the following passage in a book entitled "Pakistan and Untouchability" by Chowdhri Afzal Haq, a pro-Congress Ahrar Leader :

"Musalmans of the Aryan race, Musalmans of the Sufi cult, Musalmans of high families, Musalmans of good education were treated as untouchables of the Hindu society. You may be a *pucca* nationalist and a four-square Gandhi-ite, you will be treated as an untouchable as soon as you announce to a Hindu that you are a Musalman. However justified the Hindus feel and however innocent they plead in their treatment of the Musalmans, in justice they cannot blame the latter if they cultivate an ill-feeling towards them."⁴

Neither the declaration of Mr. Gandhi, whom the Hindu masses regarded as a saint, that "I regard untouchability as the root-cause of our down-fall and of the Hindu-Muslim discord", nor his valiant fast and fight against untouchability, could produce any tangible effect on the Hindu orthodox circles who control the Hindu mass-mind.

Mr. V.D. Savarkar, the veteran leader of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha told the truth and nothing but the truth, when he declared :

"... The solid fact is that the so-called Communal questions are but a legacy handed down to us by centuries of a cultural, religious and national antagonism between the Hindus and Muslims. When the time is ripe, you can solve them, but you cannot suppress them merely by refusing recognition of them: Let us bravely face unpleasant facts as they are. India cannot be assumed to be unitarian and homogeneous nation but on the contrary there are two nations in the main, the Hindus and Muslims in India".⁵

Quaid-i-Azam was more revealing when he told Beverley Nichols :

"Islam is not merely a religious doctrine but a realistic and practical code of conduct. I am thinking in terms of life and

³ Sir Theodore Morison's *Political India*. (London 1932) p. 104.

⁴ Quoted in "The Communal Triangle in India" by two Hindus, Asoka Mehta and Patwardhan, (Allahabad 1942).

⁵ "Nationalism in Conflict in India"—Bombay 1942—p. 6-7.

of everything important in life. I am thinking in terms of our history, our heroes, our art, our architecture, our music, our laws, our jurisprudence . . . In all these things, our outlook is not only fundamentally different but often radically antagonistic to the Hindus. We are different *beings*. There is nothing in life which links us together. Our names, our clothes, our foods—they are different. Our economic life, our educational ideas, our treatment of women, our attitude to animals . . . We challenge each other at every point of the compass. Take one example, the eternal question of the cow. We eat cow, the Hindus worship it . . . ”⁶

Perhaps the most positive contribution to the culture of India made during and after the Muslim epoch in Indian history is the Urdu language. This language is the outcome of a long, natural fusion, without official force or favour, of Turkish, Arabic and Persian words, terms and idioms with the Saurseni and other dialects of Hindu India. Originally spoken in northern India, it spread to southern India and ultimately became the most widely understood, spoken and written language throughout the country. Its script is Persian. It developed, and now possesses, a vast, cosmopolitan literature, the modern trends making it contemporaneous in ideas and technique with the best literature of the West. Muslims regard it as their national language but orthodox Hindus have always been at pains to replace Urdu by Sanskritised Hindi and its script by the Devanagri (Sanskrit) script. According to Mr. V.D. Savarkar, “Sanskrit should be retained as a sacred language, Hindi as a national language and Nagri as the Script of Hindudom.” Mr. Gandhi tried to evolve a composite language, Hindustani, retaining both Hindi and Urdu vocabularies in common use. Dealing with the question of Hindi or Hindustani, Mr. Savarkar writes:

“This Sanskrit Nishta Hindi has nothing to do with that hybrid, the so-called Hindustani which is being hatched by the Wardha Scheme. It is nothing short of a linguistic monstrosity and must be ruthlessly suppressed. Not only that but it is our bounden duty to oust out as ruthlessly all unnecessary alien words, whether Arabic or English, from every Hindu tongue whether provincial or dialectical.”⁷

It is thus evident that Hindu nationalism was bent on destroying an organic language like Urdu merely because it happens to contain words of foreign, which means in effect, of Islamic, origin even though they are far less in number than the popular Hindi words.

Hindu nationalism went further. It developed aggressive designs against the Muslim North-West Frontier and Afghanistan, in order

⁶ “Verdict on India”—by Beverley Nichols.

⁷ Nationalism in Conflict in India”, Bombay 1942—p. 8.

The Struggle of a Nation

to preserve Hinduism. This attitude was popularised by the well-known Hindu revolutionary, Har Dyal. The "Partap" of Lahore, the most widely circulated Hindu newspaper of Northern India in the days of British rule, published as early as 1925 an article by Har Dyal in which he says:

"I declare that the future of the Hindu race, of Hindustan and of the Punjab rests on these four pillars: (1) Hindu Sangathan (unity); (2) Hindu Raj (rule); (3) Shudhi (conversion) of Muslims and (4) Conquest and Shudhi of Afghanistan and the Frontiers. So long as the Hindu nation does not accomplish these four things, the safety of our children and great-grand children will be ever in danger and the safety of the Hindu race will be impossible. The Hindu race has one history and its institutions are homogeneous. But the Musalmans and Christians are far removed from the confines of Hinduism, for their religions are alien and they love Persian, Arabic and European institutions

"Thus, just as one removes foreign matter from the eye, Shudhi must be made of these two religions. Afghanistan and the hilly regions of the frontier were formerly part of India but are at present under the domination of Islam. Just as there is a Hindu religion in Nepal, so there must be Hindu institutions in Afghanistan and the Frontier territory; otherwise it is useless to win Swaraj. For mountain tribes are always warlike and hungry. If they become our enemies, the age of Nadir Shah and Zamanshah will begin anew. At present English officers are protecting the frontier; but it cannot always be. If Hindus want to protect themselves, they must conquer Afghanistan and the frontiers and convert all the mountain tribes."⁸

The "Shudhi" and "Sangathan" movements were duly organised. The aim of the former is to reduce the Muslim population by a process of reconversion, and of the latter, to organise a private army to exterminate the remaining population. Both movements were started by Hindu extremists and financed by Hindu capitalists. The atmosphere was further poisoned by a long series of tragic communal riots. Such riots, whether on a large scale or small, have been a frequent occurrence at religious festivals and observances. In the words of Sir R. Coupland,

"The record of Hindu-Moslem rioting in India is long and tragic. The earliest serious case in British records is the outbreak at Benares in 1809 . . . Several hundred people were killed and some fifty mosques destroyed. Happily that tragedy is unique, and indeed for over seventy years, though there were minor disorders from time to time, there appear to have been no serious outbreaks except in 1871 and 1872. But

⁸ Ibid p. 4-5.

there was violent rioting at Lahore and Karnal in 1885, at Delhi in 1886, at Dera Ghazi Khan in 1889, at Palakot in 1891, and in a large area in the United Provinces and in the City of Bombay, when eighty persons were killed, in 1893. The chief reason for this persistent trouble between 1885 and 1893 was undoubtedly the fact that during the first four years of the period the Moslem festival of Muharram coincided with the Hindu Dasahra festival; but it may perhaps be more than a coincidence that the National Congress was founded in 1885 and established its place on the public stage in the course of the next few years. Another disturbed and anxious period ran from 1907 to 1914—a period marked by the discussion, enactment and operation of the “Morley-Minto Reforms”.⁹

Viewed against this background, it is not difficult to understand why the Muslims stubbornly opposed the concept of numerical democracy which would inevitably have established Hindu hegemony over the *whole* of India to the detriment of the vital interests and aspirations of the Muslim community.

More Attempts at Communal Settlement

The Indian National Congress at its Gaya Session in 1922 appointed a Committee, including Dr. Ansari and Lala Lajpat Rai, to draw up a National Pact. They submitted their report at the Coconada session of the Congress in 1923. The matter was referred to another Committee and was never heard of again.

Mr. C.R. Das, the Bengali leader and an ex-President of the Congress formulated a Hindu-Muslim formula covering all questions, religious and political, but the Coconada Congress rejected it on the plea that it was partial to Muslims.

In the Central Assembly debate in 1926, in spite of Mr. Jinnah's pathetic appeal, not only the extremist Hindu Mahasabha leader Pandit Madan Malaviya but also moderate Congress leaders like Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, opposed the grant of reforms to the Muslim-majority province of the North-West Frontier.

In 1926, Mr. Jinnah, in his anxiety to settle the Hindu-Muslim question once and for all, sent to Mr. Gandhi a Memorandum accepting mixed electorates subject to certain conditions. The Memorandum was signed by 28 Muslim leaders including Dr. Ansari and Maulana Mohammad Ali. Mr. Gandhi approved of the formula and the All India Congress Committee accepted it unanimously, but it was not proceeded with on account of Pandit Malaviya's opposition. On the other hand, the Nehru Committee, appointed by the All Parties Conference, came out with counter-proposals unacceptable to the Muslims.

⁹ The Constitutional Problem in India, 1945, Part I, p. 29.

The Struggle of a Nation

The "National Convention" of 1928 rejected all the Muslim League amendments to the Nehru Scheme, which was ultimately shelved by the Congress itself. No wonder that even Maulana Mohammad Ali, an ex-President of the Congress and a most devoted follower of Mr. Gandhi in the days of the Khilafat Movement, declared in 1930:

"We refuse to join Mr. Gandhi, because his movement is not a movement for the complete independence of India but for making the 70 millions of Indian Muslims dependents of the Hindu Mahasabha".¹⁰

Simon Commission: Muslim Demands

The working of "Dyarchy" did not prove a success and as a result of pressure exercised by Indian political parties, the British Government appointed a Statutory Commission under Sir John (now Lord) Simon to review the working of the constitution and to make recommendations for further extension of reforms. It was during this period that Muslim demands were restated by Mr. Jinnah on behalf of the Muslim League in his famous "Fourteen Points". The more important points were that: the future constitution should be federal, with residuary powers vested in the Provinces; Sind and Baluchistan should be created separate Provinces; a uniform measure of autonomy should be granted to all Provinces, including the North-West Frontier, Sind and Baluchistan; Muslim representation to the Central Legislature should not be less than one-third; subject to voluntary renunciation, communal representation by means of separate electorates should continue; no cabinet, Central or Provincial, should be formed without there being a proportion of one-third Muslim Ministers; Muslim majorities in Bengal and the Punjab should be maintained; and the constitution should embody adequate safeguards for the protection of Muslim religion, culture, etc.

These demands show clearly that while the Muslims were pressing for an independent political existence in those areas where they were in a majority, they were willing to co-operate with the Congress in the establishment of a federal centre. It is now admitted on all sides that these demands were reasonable; yet the Congress jettisoned them and bitterly criticised the League. Since the entire Muslim public opinion supported Mr. Jinnah's stand, this attitude of the majority community strained Hindu-Muslim relations still further.

Round Table Conference

The Simon Commission submitted its report in 1930, but it was decided to call a Round Table Conference in London, between the

¹⁰ Times of India, Bombay, April 24, 1930.

Pakistan

British Government and the representatives of Indian political parties and of the Indian States, to devise a constitution acceptable to all.

The Congress had fixed the 31st of December 1929 as the last date for the British Government to accept the Nehru Report in its entirety. The acceptance did not come, and on 31st December 1929, the Congress, at its Lahore session, scrapped the Nehru Report, changed its demand from Dominion Status to complete independence, and decided to launch Civil Disobedience. This was led by Mr. Gandhi in 1930. He brushed aside the vital question of Hindu-Muslim settlement as not being important at the moment. In the ensuing struggle, Muslims generally remained aloof. The Movement crumbled and the Congress agreed to try constitutional methods at the Round Table Conference which was already meeting in London.

Government of India Act—1935

The outcome of the Conference was a substantial, if incomplete measure of agreement. The majority-minority dissensions persisted and the British Prime Minister had to give an award to settle outstanding differences. This lack of unity enabled the British Government to vitiate the quality as well as quantity of reforms. This award, known as the "Communal Award" was followed by the Government of India Act of 1935. The main provisions of this Act were:

- (i) Provincial Autonomy i.e., freedom of the Provinces from the administrative control of the Centre, except for specific purposes;
- (ii) Responsible Government for the Provinces subject to certain "safeguards";
- (iii) Creation of two separate provinces of Sind and Orissa.
- (iv) Federal structure for the Central Government with the participation of the Provinces and the Indian States;
- (v) Separate electorates for Muslims and statutory safeguards for minority rights;
- (vi) Weightage to Muslims in Hindu-majority Provinces and to Hindus in Muslim-majority Provinces;
- (vii) Nominal statutory majorities for Muslims in their majority Provinces, viz. Bengal and the Punjab; and
- (viii) Dominion Status promised as the ultimate aim after the transition of power was completed.

The Working of the Act

The Federal part of the Act never came into operation. The Provincial part was enforced in 1936-37. The League rejected the Federal part but agreed to try the Provincial part "for what it was worth". The Congress rejected the entire scheme but agreed to take

The Struggle of a Nation

part in the elections, and after a period of intransigence agreed to form ministries in the Provinces where it had been returned in a majority.

The Congress formed Ministries in seven out of the eleven Provinces—Madras, Bombay, Central Provinces, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Bihar, Orissa and the North-West Frontier Province. It rejected the League offer of co-operation, on the ground that non-Congressmen could not be included in the Ministries which must be Party Ministries. The Congress attitude at this juncture was symbolised by the slogan "Sign the Congress pledge or go". The Muslim League was not prepared to accept this position because it meant that instead of sharing power and responsibility as partners, the Muslims would be reduced to a state of subordination to the Congress High Command.

The Congress policy at this juncture was three-fold: to strengthen the opposition to British connection so as to achieve complete independence; to absorb minority parties, especially the Muslim League; and to force the Constitutional pace in the Indian States so that it should control the Federal Government at the Centre when it was established and in which the States were represented. The methods adopted were: Creating dissatisfaction in the States through the Congress organization; disruption of non-Congress Ministries and their substitution by Congress Ministries; Muslim Mass Contact Movement, which was intended to wean Muslims away from the League; rigid control of Provincial Ministries by the Congress High Command. In other words, the Congress aimed at domination on all-India basis, as a totalitarian body. It was dominated by Caste Hindus led by Mr. Gandhi. It was financed by prominent Hindu business houses and other capitalists. It controlled all influential Indian newspapers. No opposition within the party or without was tolerated. It was therefore obvious that, far from sharing self-government with other parties, Congressmen were determined to push democracy to its theoretically logical conclusion, to wit, majority rule, which meant in effect that Hindus who constituted the majority were to replace the British as the sole "de facto" and "de jure" rulers of the country.

Side by side with these developments, came another eye-opener for Muslims; this was the general behaviour of the Hindu masses who began to feel that with the installation of Congress ministries, Hindu Raj had been established. Their attitude became overweening and truculent. They tried, on the one hand, to thrust on India the Hindu National Anthem, which, being in an idolatrous strain, was repugnant to Muslims, and, on the other, to impose the Congress Party flag as the Flag of the whole of India. The use of Hindi was extended at the expense of Urdu. Urdu schools were either closed down or amalgamated with Hindi schools. In the Wardha Scheme of Education, there was no place for the teaching of religion, on the plea that it militated against the growth of a common nationhood. But literature and history

taught in schools dealt with the philosophy and romance of Hinduism and the merits and achievements of Hindu civilisation. Students had no opportunity to know about the Prophet, or the heroes and achievements of Islam. Muslim rule in India was represented as a period of strife and bloodshed without any redeeming merit. Muslim students were compelled to bow before the portrait of Mr. Gandhi.¹¹ Efforts were made to stop cow-slaughter. Butchers were assaulted. Muslim shops were boycotted. Muslim villagers were prevented from using village wells. Religious observances established for centuries were interfered with. There were serious riots in many towns in the Congress Provinces, where the Muslims suffered heavy loss of life and property; their entire economic life was dislocated. Official intervention was infrequent and, as a general rule, biased in favour of Hindus. True to their promise to the Congress not to invoke their special powers under their Instrument of Instructions, the Governors of the Congress Provinces turned a deaf ear to the appeals of the Muslim League. Reference may be made to the Times of India, Bombay, July 11 and 26, and December 14, 1939 as well as to the Reports mentioned below.

These aggressive tactics of the Congress and their Hindu followers challenged Muslim pride and self-interest. Was it merely a change of masters which self-government was bringing for them—masters, too, who were not only partial but intent on destroying all that Muslims valued most: Whatever may have been the professed policy of the Congress leaders, there was no doubt that the idea of revenge, fed and fostered by biased accounts of Muslim rule in India by British historians, had come to stay in the minds of Hindu intelligentsia as well as of the Hindu masses. "The Ram Raj" which was proclaimed and practised by the Congress rank and file revived in the Muslim mind a strong complex of fear and aversion. No wonder that the day on which the Congress Ministries resigned was celebrated with country-wide enthusiasm by Muslims as a "Day of Deliverance" from the terror and tyranny of Congress rule.

The facts demonstrating this Congress misrule have been brought out in plentiful detail in the Report known as the Pirpur Report, published in 1938 by the Enquiry Committee appointed by the Council of the All-India Muslim League; in the Report known as the Sharif Report, published in 1939 by the Enquiry Committee appointed by the Working Committee on the Bihar Provincial Muslim League; in the pamphlet entitled "Muslim Sufferings under Congress Rule" published in 1939 by Mr. A.K. Fazlul Huq, ex-Premier of Bengal, and, lastly, in the Report, published in 1942, by the Kamal Yar Jung Education Committee appointed by the All-India Muslim Educational Conference.

¹¹ See below for references.

PAKISTAN AS DEMANDED



The Struggle of a Nation

Muslim Reaction: Pakistan

As early as 1937, Pandit Nehru's declaration that "there are only two parties in India—the British Government and the Congress," had brought forth Mr. Jinnah's retort that "there is a third party—the Muslim Nation". The League had already changed its political goal from Dominion Status to full independence. The events of the years 1937-40 produced a strong reaction among the Muslims. Under the dynamic leadership of Mr. Jinnah, the All-India Muslim League was reorganised and its machinery overhauled. He urged the Muslims to unite and to rely on themselves. Faced with the situation created by the Congress, the Muslims closed their ranks and were now solidly behind Mr. Jinnah, the President of the All-India Muslim League.

In March 1940, at the annual Session of the League held in Lahore, the historic Pakistan Resolution was passed which demanded the partition of India. The Resolution stated:

"That no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to Muslims, unless it is designed on the following basic principles, viz., that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India should be grouped to constitute 'Independent States' in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.

"That adequate effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in these units and in these regions for the protection of their religions, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them; and in other parts of India where the Musalmans are in a minority, adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of their religions, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them."

In concrete form this Resolution meant that the Muslim-majority provinces of the Punjab, Sind, the North-West Frontier Provinces, Baluchistan and Bengal should be separated from the rest of India and grouped together as an Independent State to be known as Pakistan. The comparative population figures of Muslims and non-Muslims in British India in 1941 were as follows:—

Pakistan

<i>Province</i>	<i>Muslims</i>	<i>Non-Muslims</i>		<i>Total</i>
	<i>Millions</i>			<i>Population.</i>
Punjab.	16.2	12.2	28.4	Pakistan areas 4,11,000 Muslims 55.1 Non-Muslims 41.1
Bengal.	33.0	27.3	60.3	
Sind.	3.2	1.3	4.5	
North-West Frontier.	2.7	.3	3.0	
Madras.	3.9	45.4	49.3	The rest of British India. Muslims 23.2 Non-Muslims 173.9
Bombay.	1.9	18.9	20.8	
United Provinces.	8.4	46.6	55.0	
Bihar.	4.7	31.6	36.3	
Central Provinces.	0.7	16.1	16.8	
Assam.	3.5	6.7	10.2	
Orissa.	0.1	8.6	8.7	197.1

The above figures do not include the Indian States which have a population of 93 million, of which Muslims are 12.7 million.

As early as 1924, leaders like Hasrat Mohani and Lala Lajpat Rai had begun to despair of Hindu-Muslim unity. The former proposed the creation of separate Muslim States in India united with the Hindu States under a common Federal Government. The latter advocated the partitioning of India into Muslim India and non-Muslim India, the Muslim India comprising the four States of North-West Frontier, Western Punjab, Sind and Eastern Bengal. The All-India Muslim Conference held in Delhi on January 1, 1929 had demanded a federal system with autonomy and residuary powers vested in the Constituent States. It was, however, the famous poet-philosopher, Dr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal who, for the first time, visualised the idea of a single State for the predominantly Muslim units of North-West India. In his Presidential address at the Allahabad Session of the All-India Muslim League in 1930, he had declared :

“I would like to see the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan into a single State. Self-government within the British Empire or without the British Empire appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims at least of North-West India . . . It is clear that, in view of India's infinite variety in climate, races, languages, creeds and social systems, the creation of autonomous States based on unity of language, race, history, religion and identity of economic interests is the only possible way to secure a stable constitutional structure in India . . . It was indeed because it would solve the communal problem that Muslims demanded a Federation, but it must be really a federal, not a unitary, system in disguise . . . I would never advise the Muslims of



SIR MOHAMED IQBAL

The Struggle of a Nation

India to agree to a system, whether of British or of Indian origin, which virtually negates the principle of true federation or fails to recognise them as a distinct political entity."

It is thus clear that Sir Mohamed Iqbal wanted a single state comprising the Muslim-majority Provinces in the North-West with a general readjustment of Provincial boundaries within a nominal all-India federal, not a unitary, system.

The name PAKISTAN¹² (Land of the Pure) was used for the first time in January 1933 by the Pakistan National Movement—a Muslim students' organisation in the United Kingdom,—to designate North-West India as a completely separate State. Later, the promoters of this Movement advocated the carving out of similarly separate States in Bang-i-Islam (Bengal) and Usmanistan (Hyderabad). Thus, even before the adoption of the now famous Pakistan Resolution, the various Pakistan schemes were before the Muslims, and support was being actively canvassed by their advocates. But it was in March 1940 that, for the first time, a responsible body like the All-India Muslim League officially adopted the scheme, as embodied in the Pakistan Resolution, at a session attended by as many as 100,000 members. Thereafter, Pakistan became the goal of the Mussalmans of India.

Naturally, the Congress condemned the Pakistan Resolution which, according to some, aimed at the "vivisection of Mother India" and according to others, at "cutting the cow into two". They, however, ignored the historical fact that the whole of India has never been united,—the only instance of a major part, not the whole, of the Indian sub-continent coming under a common rule being the reigns of Asoka (275-312 B. C.), Alauddin Khalji (1296-1316 A. D.), Aurangzeb (1653-1707 A. D.) and lastly the British period. Moreover, racially, culturally and linguistically the sub-continent has never been one country. The political struggle in India now became a tri-cornered struggle. The Congress and the League demanded complete independence; the League demanded the establishment of Pakistan by the partition of India; the Congress opposed Pakistan and was out-and-out for Indian unity.

The Case for Pakistan

As indicated in the preceding pages, Muslims were forced by experience and logic of events to demand the partition of India into Pakistan and Hindustan. The idea of a separate homeland for Muslims, which originally envisaged North-West India was enlarged and developed by Mr. Jinnah into a political scheme envisaging the separation of the Muslim-majority regions in the North-East as well as the North-West

¹² P for the Punjab, A for the Afghan (Pathan) province of North-West Frontier, K for Kashmir, S for Sind and TAN for Baluchistan. In writing Pakistan in Urdu, the i is not used as a separate letter.

Pakistan

from the rest of India, with adequate and effective guarantee for protection, on a reciprocal basis, of the political, economic, cultural, and religious rights of the minorities in Muslim and Hindu Indias. This scheme became the basis of the Pakistan Movement, which, in the hands of an adroit exponent and selfless leader like Mr. Jinnah, grew into an article of faith with the Muslim masses.

Muslims had become conscious that as a people they were entirely different from the Hindus, and that Pakistan alone could save their existence as a separate entity by giving them their own national State where they would be free from the threat of an all-out merger or extinction under Hindu-raj. It converted them from a minority in a larger State to a majority in a smaller State where they could live and develop according to their own genius. It also gave them an independent international status in the world.

By reason of their numerical majority in undivided India, military power would have been in the hands of the Hindus who could have used it so as to reduce the strength of Muslims in the armed forces. This would have given Hindu-raj the ultimate sanction of absolute military power. But since the creation of Pakistan not only would Pakistan save her man-power but also check the expansionist designs of an aggressive Hindu nationalism.

Pakistan alone could enable the Muslims to re-establish their economic life. In an undivided India, the Hindus would have continued and strengthened their economic hold over all parts of the country. Even in the Muslim zones, the entire trade, banking and industry were already monopolized by the Hindus. Muslims had become mere suppliers of raw material and consumers of manufactured goods. The profits were pocketed by Hindu capitalists and middlemen. Even more disastrous than the economic exploitation by highly industrialised Britain, was the relentless exploitation of Muslim agriculturists and artisans by the Hindu mercantile and money-lending classes. The Muslim masses were steeped in debt and poverty. Industrialization, in pre-partitioned India, was fostered in all Provinces save those which were predominantly Muslim. Pakistan would put an end to this exploitation, establish and protect its own industries and thus guarantee a more balanced economy.

Muslims could not barter away their religion, culture and ways of life to which they had a proud attachment, for any material benefits, political or economic, that there might have been in an undivided India. In Pakistan alone could they live up to the ideals of Islam and retain and develop the sense of self-respect and pride which is their historic heritage.

The Political Deadlock

In September 1939, the proclamation of war was issued by the Viceroy and ratified by both Houses of the Central Legislature, the Congress

The Struggle of a Nation

Members being absent. Non-Congress (Muslim) Provinces also accepted the Proclamation and took full part in the war effort. The Congress made its participation in the war effort conditional on immediate declaration of independence and transfer of maximum power to a National Government. Mr. Jinnah offered the League's participation in the proposed Government on two conditions: firstly, a categorical declaration by the British Government that it would adopt no constitution, whether for the war period only or in final form, without the previous approval of Muslim India; secondly, equal share of Muslim leadership in the authority and control of Government, Central and Provincial, for the purpose of mobilising India's maximum war effort. The League Working Committee endorsed Mr. Jinnah's policy, and authorised him to negotiate with the Viceroy, at the same time declaring that no other member of the Working Committee should negotiate with Congress leaders without Mr. Jinnah's permission nor should Muslims serve on War Committees without his instructions.

In August 1940 was published the Declaration of the British Government, known as the "August Offer". It declared inter alia that the British Government "could not contemplate transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of Government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life. Nor could they be party to the coercion of such elements into submission to such a Government".

The League welcomed this concession to its standpoint but neither accepted nor rejected the offer as a whole. Congress rejected the offer and in 1941 launched a non-violent "Satyagraha" movement which, however, failed.

The Cripps Offer, March 1942

In 1942, the threat of the Japanese invasion of Eastern India grew serious and Sir Stafford Cripps was sent out to India to resolve the political deadlock. The Cripps Offer promised Dominion Status with freedom to secede; a constitution-making body to frame the future Constitution subject to the right of Provinces or States to form a separate Union; immediate transfer to Indian hands of all subjects except Defence. This offer was rejected alike by the Congress and the League. The former did so because, in the words of Mr. Gandhi, it "contemplated perpetual vivisection of India"; and the latter, because, in the words of Mr. Jinnah, "the principle of Pakistan which finds only veiled recognition in the document should be conceded in unequivocal terms".

The Congress started the "Quit India" movement which, in Mr. Gandhi's words, was an "open rebellion". On August 9, 1942 Mr. Gandhi and other Congress leaders were arrested and the Congress

Pakistan

organisation was banned throughout the country. This movement, which led to widespread violence and sabotage and from which the Muslims as a community kept aloof, was quickly suppressed by the Government.

Mr. Rajagopalacharia's Formula

Mr. Rajagopalacharia, ex-Premier of Madras and now Governor General of the Indian Union, who had resigned from the Working Committee of the Congress, started a movement advocating the acceptance of the Muslim League's demand for self-determination and its inclusion in the proposed National Government for the defence of the country. His resolution was rejected by the Congress and another, negating the Muslim claim for self-determination, was adopted. He was accordingly expelled from the Congress. Later, he presented to Mr. Jinnah, with the "blessings" of Mr. Gandhi who was then in prison, a formula based on the Muslim claim for self-determination. Mr. Rajagopalacharia insisted on Mr. Jinnah's personal approval of the formula. Mr. Jinnah could not, however, accept it without the approval of the Muslim League; and a further attempt at settlement failed.

Gandhi-Jinnah Talks—1944

The stalemate in Hindu-Muslim relations continued till September 1944 when Mr. Gandhi invited Mr. Jinnah for talks in Bombay on the basis of self-determination for areas wishing to secede from India. Although Mr. Gandhi conceded that certain areas were eligible for self-determination, he was against the principle of separation. He also pressed that Foreign Affairs, Defense, Communications and Commerce should remain subjects for joint administration at the Centre. Mr. Jinnah rejected these proposals as they failed to meet the substance of the Muslim demand. No other attempt was made by the Congress to arrive at a mutually agreed solution. On the contrary, it further hardened the Muslim attitude by passing a resolution on September 5, 1945, which reiterated the Congress refusal to allow the secession of any province from the Indian Union.

1946 Elections

In July 1945 the Labour Government took office in Great Britain. On August 15, 1945, Japan's unconditional surrender was announced and war in the East ended. Elections in India, which had been postponed during wartime, were held early in 1946, the Muslim League making the demand for Pakistan an election issue. The results of the election left no one in doubt as to the intensity of Muslim feeling for a separate homeland. The League won all the thirty Muslim seats in the Central Legislative Assembly and 427 out of 507 seats in the

The Struggle of a Nation

Provincial Assemblies. Only a few Muslims were returned on the Congress ticket. Some of them later joined the Muslim League. The Congress claim that it was a national body representing all Indians including the Muslims was no longer tenable. The will of the Muslim people had been ascertained by a democratic method and their verdict was almost unanimously in favour of Pakistan. Neither the Congress nor the British Government could now ignore this firm expression of Muslim opinion.

Cabinet Mission—1946

In March 1946, the British Prime Minister sent a Mission of three Cabinet Ministers with the object of "promoting, in conjunction with the leaders of public opinion, the early realisation of self-government in India". A series of Conferences were held at Simla and Delhi to evolve an agreed formula, but in spite of protracted negotiations no Congress-League agreement was arrived at. On May 16, 1946, the Cabinet Mission announced its own plan of resolving the deadlock.

The plan was divided into two parts, viz., short-term and long-term proposals. An interim Government was immediately to be established which would be completely Indian and contain an adequate representation of Muslims. The Interim Government would arrange for an elected constituent Assembly to frame the future constitution of India on the basis of the long-term proposals of the Cabinet Mission plan. According to these proposals, India was to be constituted into three Groups, A, B, and C. Group B was to consist of the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province and Sind. Group C was to include Bengal and Assam. Group A was to contain all the remaining Provinces of India. These Groups were to frame their own constitutions except in regard to Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications, which were to be administered by the Union Centre. There was a further provision that the Provinces had the right to opt out of "Groups", but only after the new constitution had been framed and the first election on its basis had been held.

The Muslim League accepted both the short-term and long-term parts of the Plan; but the Congress rejected the composition of the Central Cabinet contained in the short-term proposals. With regard to the long-term proposals, it declared that there were "inconsistencies and discrepancies". Clarifications followed, and finally the Congress also accepted the Plan. They, however, claimed that any Province or part of a Province could opt out of a "Group" even before the Constitution was framed. Some of their representatives even claimed that Defence and Communications, which were Central subjects, also included ancillary industries and even Customs. This would have meant the entire control of the economic life of Group "B" and "C" by the Hindu-dominated Centre. The Congress, it appeared, was bent upon making

Pakistan

the Cabinet Mission Plan ineffective in all those details which were responsible for its acceptance by the Muslim League.

This left the Muslim League with no option but to withdraw its acceptance of the Cabinet Mission Plan and to revert to its original demand for an unqualified partition of India and the establishment of a separate State which would be sovereign and independent in its own right.

In the meantime, the Congress had been called upon to form an Interim Government, which it did in August 1946. In October the Muslim League joined the Interim Government at the invitation of the Viceroy, because it felt that the entire control of Government machinery by the Congress would not be in the interests of Muslims and other minorities; but it firmly rejected the long-term proposals as unacceptable.

Mr. Atlee's Statement: February 1947

The whole question of the long-term proposals was referred to the British Cabinet again. It did not agree with the interpretations of the Congress and, in view of the Muslim League's categorical rejection of the Plan, Mr. Atlee, the British Prime Minister, made a statement in the House of Commons on February 20, 1947, the essential points of which were:

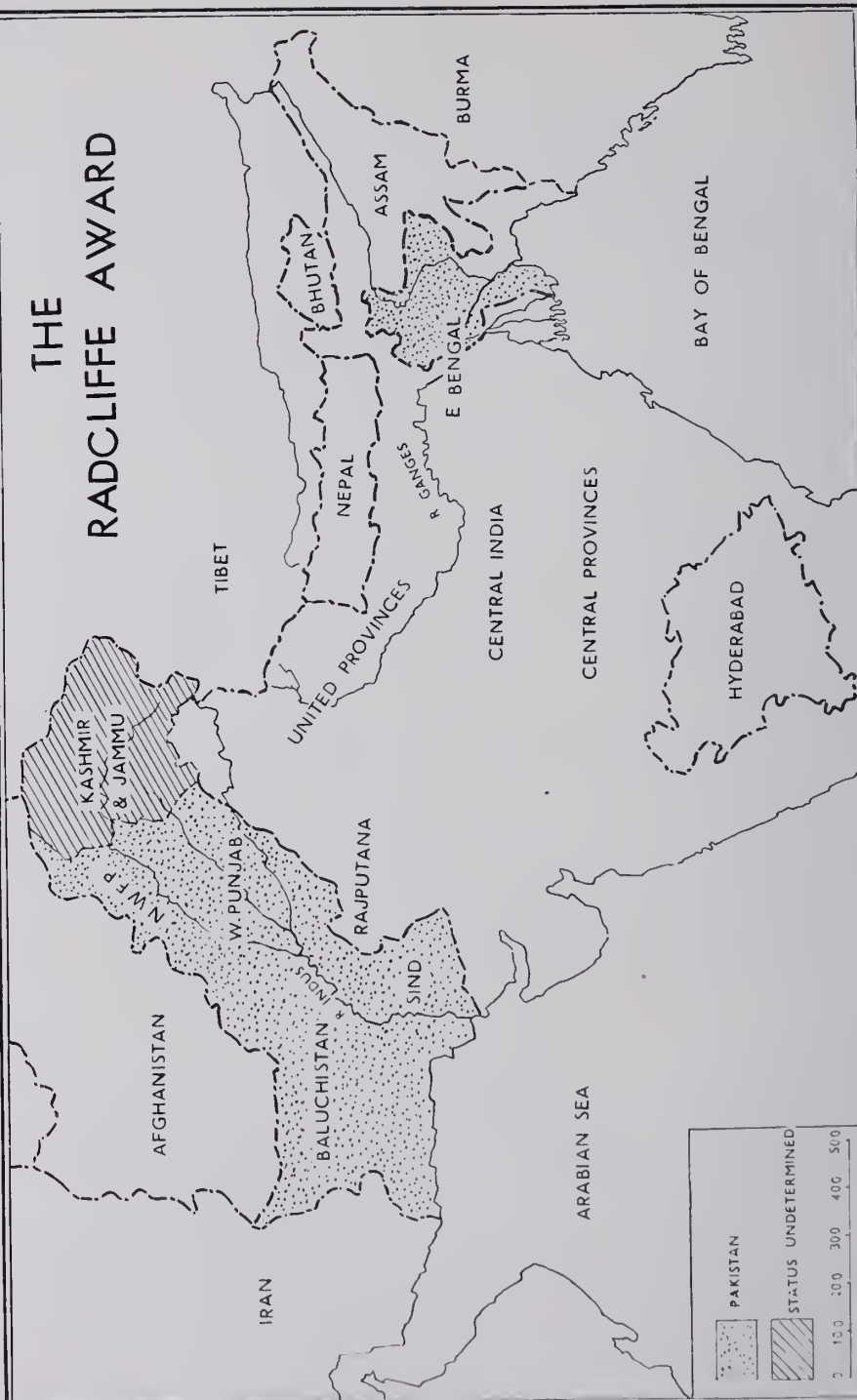
1. The British Government declared their firm resolve to take necessary steps to transfer power to responsible hands by a date not later than June 1948.
2. The British Government recognised that there was no prospect of any constitution being agreed to by all parties in India in accordance with the Cabinet Mission Plan.
3. The British Government declared their intention to transfer power either to one Central Government or in some areas to the existing Provincial Governments or in such other way as might seem most reasonable.

Mountbatten Plan—1947

Towards the end of March 1947, the new Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, arrived in Delhi. He was charged with the Mission to settle once and for all and as expeditiously as possible the vexed question of Indian Independence and to resolve the Congress-League deadlock.

Indications for the establishment of Pakistan were so strong that the Congress gave up its opposition to the idea. Instead, its efforts were now concentrated on reducing the area and population which were to constitute Pakistan. Although the Punjab and Bengal were entirely homogeneous linguistic and administrative units, the Congress demanded their partition on a religious basis, i.e. combined Hindu-Sikh majority in the eastern districts of the Punjab and Hindu majority in some Western districts of Bengal. Although this demand aimed at

THE RADCLIFFE AWARD



The Struggle of a Nation

seriously reducing the territory, population and economic resources of Pakistan and vitally affected the interests of the prospective state, the Muslim League conceded it in order to close, once for all, the long chapter of Congress-League antagonism.

On June 2, 1947, the Mountbatten Plan was announced. It accepted the seven-year old Muslim claim for an independent State in areas where they were in a majority, subject to the vote of the people or their elected representatives. The Muslim majority areas, viz., the whole of East Bengal, the Sylhet district of Assam in Eastern India, and West Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier Province in North-Western India declared themselves in favour of Pakistan. The non-Muslim majority districts of the Punjab and West Bengal joined the Indian Union.

The exact demarcation of boundaries was entrusted to a Boundary Commission under the chairmanship of Sir Cyril Radcliffe. Although numerical majority and contiguity were to be a fundamental basis for the allocation of border areas to Pakistan and India, large areas of the Punjab and Bengal containing Muslim majorities, and contiguous to other Muslim majority areas, were given to India.¹³ Even this award, although it was condemned by the people of Pakistan as manifestly unjust, was accepted by the Muslim League.

¹³ The judicially unsatisfactory nature of the award, especially so far as it applied to the Punjab was perceived by Sir Cyril Radcliffe himself in his report on the division of the Punjab:

"I am conscious that there are legitimate criticisms to be made of it as there are, I think, of any other line that might be chosen."

He continues in Paras 10 and 11 of his report:

"I have hesitated long over those not inconsiderable areas east of the Sutlej river in the angle of the Beas and Sutlej rivers in which Muslim majorities are found. But on the whole I have come to the conclusion that it would be in the true interests of the West Punjab to include a strip on the far side of the Sutlej and that there are factors such as the disruption of railway Communications and water systems that ought in this instance to displace the primary claims of contiguous majorities. But I must call attention to the fact that the Divalpur Canal, which serves areas in the West Punjab takes off from the Ferozepore Headworks and I find it difficult to envisage a satisfactory demarcation of boundary at this point that is not accompanied by some arrangements for joint control of the intake of the different canals dependent on these Headworks."

"I have not found it possible to preserve undivided the irrigation system of the upper Bari Doab Canal which extends from Madhopur in the Pathankot Tahsil to the Western border of the district of Lahore, although I have made small adjustments of the Lahore-Amritsar district boundary to mitigate some of the consequences of this severance; nor can I see any means of preserving under one territorial jurisdiction the Mandi Hydro-Electric Scheme which supplies power in the districts of Kangra, Gurdaspur, Amritsar, Lahore, Jullundur, Ludhiana, Ferozepore, Sheikhpura and Lyallpur."

It will be noticed that while in Para 10 of the Report a "joint-control of the intake of different canals" is recommended, the principle is contradicted without due justification in the very next paragraph where it is stated that it was not found possible to "preserve undivided the irrigation system of the upper Bari Doab Canal." The same contradiction is repeated later on where it is asserted: "nor can I see any means of preserving under one territorial jurisdiction the Mandi Hydro-Electric Scheme . . ."

Pakistan

Indian Independence Act—1947

On July 18, 1947, the Indian Independence Act was passed by the British Parliament, laying down that:

“From August 15, 1947, two independent Dominions shall be set up in India to be known as India and Pakistan.”

“For each of the new Dominions, there shall be a Governor-General who shall be appointed by His Majesty for the purpose of the Government of the Dominion”.

In July 1947, Mr. Atlee announced in the House of Commons that the successor authorities to the British in India had respectively nominated Mr. Jinnah and Lord Mountbatten to be Governor-General of Pakistan and India.

In July 1947, the Interim Government was dissolved and Provisional Governments of Pakistan and India were set up.

At the Time of Partition

In the meantime, although the Congress had agreed to partition, the Hindus embarked on a systematic decimation of Muslim population by mass killing and forcible evacuation or conversion, with the connivance, if not with the collaboration, of the forces of law and order. Trains carrying Pakistan personnel, records and furniture were attacked by armed hordes of Hindus and Sikhs. Delhi, which was the seat of Muslim rule for many centuries, was converted into a vast Muslim refugee camp. In the riots that immediately preceded and followed partition, hundreds of thousands of Muslims were done to death, and thousands of women were abducted. Muslim refugees began to pour into Pakistan in thousands every day. On the pretext of a shortage of wagons, Pakistan was deprived of coal, so that its transport system might be crippled. Efforts were made to prejudice the development of the Port of Chittagong by diversion of Assam's tea through Calcutta. Pakistan was refused Rs 550,000,000 to which it was entitled, in the hope that it would not be able to pay the salaries of its employees. A vigorous campaign was launched in India and abroad, to show that Pakistan was economically impossible and would go to pieces in a few months, if not weeks. In short, every effort was made to sabotage the establishment of the Government of Pakistan.

Inauguration of Pakistan: August 15, 1947

On August 15, 1947, the Dominion of Pakistan was inaugurated amidst great rejoicings. The Muslims of India, after years of unrelenting effort had won Pakistan. Henceforth, the Muslim-majority Provinces were free to develop politically, economically and culturally



PAKISTAN INDEPENDENCE DAY CELEBRATIONS

Phata shows the Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah accompanied by his Military Secretary and Major General Akbar Khan (extreme left) being greeted by the gathering.



INDEPENDENCE DAY CELEBRATIONS

The Struggle of a Nation

according to their own conceptions, as a modern democratic State. For close upon a century they had been a source of raw materials and a market for the manufactured goods of the rest of India. Now they were free to have a balanced industrialised economy resulting in a higher standard of living for their seventy-five million inhabitants. The Muslim genius for the arts, literature and architecture which has contributed so much to the cultural enrichment of the world in the past had at last broken its fetters and was freed to seek new avenues of expression.

In August 1947, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah addressed the Constituent Assembly of Sovereign Pakistan—a State which he, more than anyone else, had helped come into being.

The following extracts from his address would serve to show the spirit of broad toleration and democracy in which Pakistan was inaugurated:

“The first observation that I would like to make is this. You will no doubt agree with me that the first duty of a Government is to maintain law and order so that the life, property and religious beliefs of its subjects are fully protected by the State.”

“Now, if we want to make this great State of Pakistan happy and prosperous, we should wholly and solely concentrate on the well-being of the people, and especially on the masses and the poor. If you will work in co-operation, forgetting the past, burying the hatchet, you are bound to succeed. If you can forget your past and work together in a spirit that every one of you, no matter to what community he belongs, no matter what is his colour, caste or creed is first, second and last, a citizen of this State with equal rights, privileges and obligations, there will be no end to the progress you will make.”

“You are free. You are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other places of worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed—that has nothing to do with the business of the State.”

Conclusion

No individual has contributed more to the achievement of Pakistan than Quaid-i-Azam Mohamed Ali Jinnah. Under his dynamic and inspiring leadership, Pakistan became an article of faith with the Muslim masses, irrespective of age or sex, who shirked no suffering or sacrifice in their devotion to the national cause. The part played, in particular, by the women of the Punjab during the repressive regime of the Unionist Ministry constitutes one of the glorious chapters in the history of this titanic struggle.

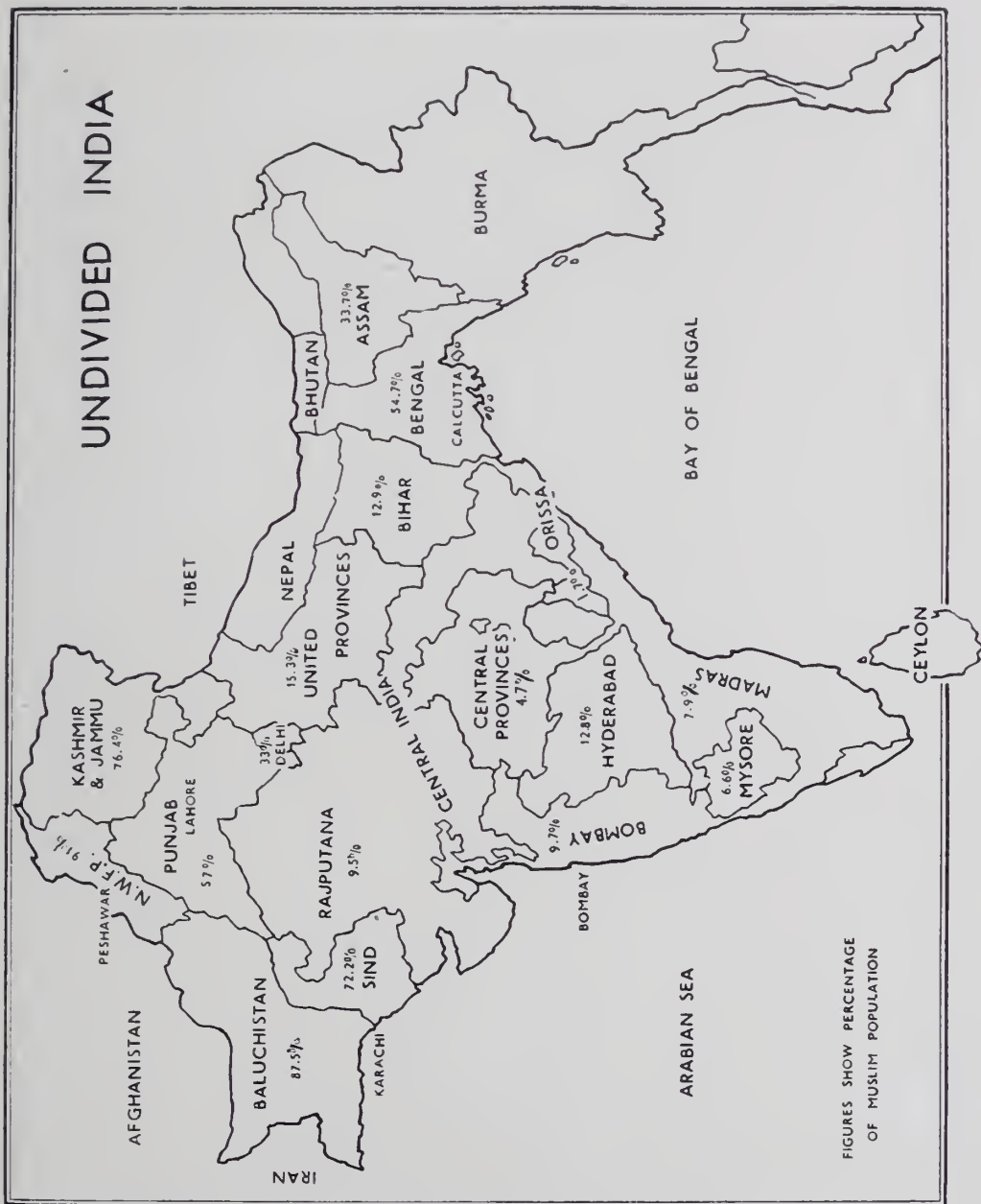
Thus the creation of the new State of Pakistan symbolises the hopes and aspirations of the 75 million of its inhabitants, who, after two

Pakistan

centuries of enslavement, have at last seen the dawn of liberty. It has ensured for them and for their children the right to follow their own way of life.

Pakistan is determined to work in a spirit of harmony and friendship with all the nations of the world. In spite of the trials and tribulations which beset a young State, Pakistan looks forward to the future with courage and hope. Whatever inscrutable Time may have in store for humanity, Pakistan's voice shall always be raised in defence of liberty, justice and democracy.

UNDIVIDED INDIA



FIGURES SHOW PERCENTAGE
OF MUSLIM POPULATION

